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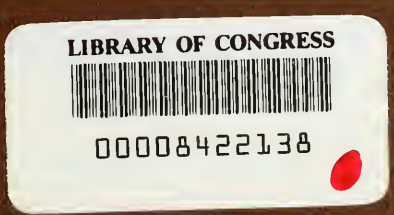

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Very truly yours
Thomas B. Reed

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

ON THE

LIFE AND CHARACTER

OF

Thomas Brackett Reed

DELIVERED IN

JOINT ASSEMBLY OF THE TWO BRANCHES OF THE LEGISLATURE.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 28, 1903.

AUGUSTA
KENNEBEC JOURNAL PRINT
1903

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White House.

STATE OF MAINE.

IN SENATE,

January 30, 1903.

ORDERED, That the resolutions adopted by the Senate and House of Representatives in joint assembly, on Wednesday, January 28, and the remarks made by the several senators and representatives, together with a steel plate engraving of the late Thomas B. Reed, be issued in pamphlet form, and that 3,000 copies of the same be furnished to the members of the legislature.

In Senate Chamber, January 30, 1903. Read and passed. Sent down for concurrence.

KENDALL M. DUNBAR,
Secretary.

House of Representatives, January 30, 1903. Read and passed in concurrence.

W. S. COTTON,
Clerk.

A true copy,
Attest: KENDALL M. DUNBAR,
Secretary.

STATE OF MAINE.

In House of Representatives,
January 14, 1903.

Ordered, The Senate concurring, that a committee consisting of the Governor, President of the Senate and such members of the Senate as may be joined on the part of the Senate, and seven members of the House of Representatives, of which number the Speaker of the House of Representatives shall be one, be appointed to arrange for suitable memorial exercises to be held in the Hall of the House of Representatives on Wednesday, January 28, 1903, in order that the Executive Department and members of the Legislature may pay a just tribute of respect to the memory of the late Thomas B. Reed.

In House of Representatives, January 14, 1903. Read and passed. Sent up for concurrence.

W. S. COTTON,
Clerk.

In Senate Chamber, January 15, 1903. Read and passed in concurrence.

KENDALL M. DUNBAR,
Secretary.

COMMITTEE TO ARRANGE MEMORIAL EXERCISES FOR THE LATE HON. THOMAS B. REED.

His Excellency, the Governor, Hon. JOHN F. HILL,
The President of the Senate, Hon. HARRY R. VIRGIN,
The Speaker of the House, Hon. OSCAR F. FELLOWS,
Messrs. RANDALL of Cumberland,
WING of Androscoggin,
GOODWIN of Somerset, —*of the Senate,*
Messrs. SWETT of Portland,
DAVIS of Waterville,
ALLAN of Portland,
SMITH of Presque Isle,
WEEKS of Fairfield,
OAKES of Auburn, —*of the House.*

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STATE OF MAINE.

In Joint Assembly of the Two Branches of the Legislature.

In the Hall of the House of Representatives,
Augusta, Wednesday, January 28, 1903.

This being the day designated by joint order of the two branches of the Legislature for holding memorial exercises for the late Hon. Thomas B. Reed, the members of the Senate and House of Representatives convened in the Hall of the House of Representatives at 10.15 o'clock, A. M.

The President of the Senate, Hon. Harry R. Virgin, called the Assembly to order and said:

"This Assembly has been formed to pay our tribute of respect to the memory of the late Hon. Thomas B. Reed, and the Chair awaits the pleasure of the Assembly."

On motion by Mr. Burns of Cumberland,

Messrs. Burns of Cumberland,
Staples of Knox, —*of the Senate,*

Messrs. Drew of Portland,
Shaw of Bath,
Blake of Sidney,
Buzzell of Old Town,
Knowlton of Camden, —*of the House,*

were appointed committee to wait upon the Honorable Governor and Council, and inform them that the two branches of the Legislature were in joint assembly in the Hall of the House of

Representatives, for the purpose of holding memorial exercises for the late Hon. Thomas B. Reed, and to extend an invitation to them to attend.

Mr. BURNS subsequently reported that the committee had attended to the duty assigned it, and the Governor was pleased to make answer, that he would forthwith attend in this hall, accompanied by the Executive Council, for the purpose of joining in the exercises.

Thereupon the Governor, attended by the Council and Heads of Departments, entered the hall.

The Governor assumed the chair and addressed the assembly as follows:

REMARKS OF THE GOVERNOR, HON. JOHN F. HILL.

Gentlemen of the Assembly:

We unite today in commemorating the life and public services of one of Maine's most noble and illustrious sons, Thomas Brackett Reed. In every sense of the word Mr. Reed was a statesman; and his brilliant career excited the respect and admiration of every true American. It is an honor and privilege to join in this tribute to his memory.

The Chair will now recognize the senator from Cumberland, Mr. Randall, as the first speaker.

THE RESOLUTIONS.

Senator RANDALL of Cumberland county, offered the following resolutions:

The Seventy-first Legislature of Maine, by joint resolution, unanimously adopted, having set aside this day and fixed this place as the occasion for memorial exercises for our late distinguished citizen, Thomas B. Reed, therefore

Resolved, That we as representatives of the people of the great State which was the birthplace of Thomas B. Reed, unitedly and publicly give voice to the universal sorrow which the news of his untimely death caused to pervade every portion of our domain.

Resolved, That the entire public and private career of Mr. Reed is a source of the greatest satisfaction and pride to all our citizens, and that his high character, lofty aspirations, commanding ability, and valuable public services rendered our State and nation will ever be held in affectionate and grateful remembrance by all the people in his native State.

Resolved, That these resolutions be extended upon the records of the convention and that as evidence of the sincere sympathy and condolence of all the people of Maine, an engrossed copy thereof, be sent to his family.

REMARKS OF HON. CHARLES H. RANDALL OF PORTLAND, SENATOR FROM CUMBERLAND COUNTY.

Your Excellency and Gentlemen of the Assembly:

In support of the resolutions, I desire to say a few words.

In the year 1861 I was a student in the old High School for boys in Portland. In that year there came to us an assistant teacher, a young man just graduated from Bowdoin College—a rather tall, smooth faced jolly fellow— whom we boys soon learned to love and respect, a young man who all unforeseen by us, was destined in after years to become one of the master-minds of the republic, and one of the greatest statesmen this country has produced—teacher, lawyer, State senator, attorney general of Maine, city solicitor of Portland and for twenty-two years representing with distinguished ability, the first district of Maine in the Congress of the United States,—standing there during all that time, without a peer among the giants of that body. Three times elected Speaker of the National House—a great, honest, brainy, manly man—Thomas Brackett Reed.

And we are assembled here to-day to pay a last fond tribute to his memory, who but a few short weeks ago, his life work but half accomplished, was taken from among us, and lay down, as we do hope to pleasant dreams, and it is especially fitting that the Legislature of the State that gave him birth, and which he did so honor in later years, should pause in the midst of its duties, and lay a wreath of love, honor and approbation upon his grave. Every page of the history of Maine is bright with deeds of her distinguished sons, and such names as Fessenden, Hamlin and Blaine, Chamberlain and Berry, Drummond, Webb,

Dingley and Reed, will ever shine as bright particular stars among a host of eminent men.

Mr. Reed needs no eulogy from me. Long after all of us who participate in these exercises to-day shall have passed to the great unknown and be forgotten, his name and services will be remembered, and he will be spoken of as the "Great Speaker"—the ablest statesman of his time.

I knew him for many years;—he was my tutor in my boyhood days, and he honored me with his friendship in later years; and therefore it is with deep feelings of love and respect that I to-day offer this slight tribute to his memory.

REMARKS OF HON. GEORGE H. SMITH, REPRESENTATIVE FROM PRESQUE ISLE.

Your Excellency and Gentlemen of the Assembly:

There is an old Arabian proverb which says that death is a camel that kneels at every man's door. And we have met to-day in joint assembly for the purpose of paying our tribute of respect and esteem to the memory of one of the distinguished sons of Maine, before whose door the camel has recently knelt.

Within the personal recollection of many of us, several of the able and distinguished men of Maine, men who have left a deep and lasting impress upon the history of our State and Nation, have been borne away by this same camel—Fessenden, Hamlin, Blaine, Dingley, Boutelle, Milliken—names as familiar as household words.

Thomas B. Reed stood in the front rank of men such as these, and in power, ability, integrity and strength of character, he was their peer and their equal. Like them, he was not only endowed with great intellectual power, but like them also he was honest and upright in all his dealings with his fellow men. The smell of fire was never upon his garments. He never prostituted his great power and ability. Neither love for friend, nor fear of foe ever caused him to swerve the breadth of a single hair from what he believed to be right. His superb honesty and high conception of right, is strikingly evidenced by the fact that he was poor when he entered Congress, he remained poor while in Congress and he was poor when he left Congress. Yet his high position as the great Speaker of the National House of Representatives, together with the mighty influence and power which his exalted position gave him, must have opened before him

many questionable avenues of wealth, but with his strong sense of honor, he scorned to enter the golden doors so invitingly held open—a temptation to which a weaker man than he might have yielded. And the fact that he did not use his position and power for his own private gain, is one of the brightest gems in the crown of his great fame.

When occasion required, he could strike mighty blows, but they were always struck on the side of what he believed to be right. And when he struck, he made himself felt. To be sure his blows were not like those of Saladin who with a single deft stroke of his cimiter severed in twain the gossamer handkerchief floating in mid air, but rather they were like the blows of Richard, the lion-hearted, who with one stroke of his mighty sword cleft the ingot of iron.

The State of Maine, without regard to party or creed, rejoices in his great fame which is a part of her glory. His name is written in letters of burnished gold, high in the list of her many illustrious sons and many long generations will pass away before Speaker Reed is forgotten by his State and country.

REMARKS OF HON. GEORGE C. WING OF AUBURN, SENATOR FROM ANDROSCOGGIN COUNTY.

Your Excellency and Gentlemen of the Assembly:

Nearly nineteen hundred years ago the Divine Man, our Savior, pronounced an eulogium upon an absent friend in less than three lines, the burning words of which have outlived and outshone all contemporaneous panegyrics. "Among them that are born of women, there hath not arisen a greater than John the Baptist." These words, few and simple though they be, will last while time endures. When all the applause created by the fulsome praises spoken of the living and the dead during all the centuries which have intervened are forgotten, and the voices which gave utterance thereto and the echoes thereof are still and lost, this simple tribute will stand out boldly and grandly as the treasured expression of Him who spoke as never man spake.

The State of Maine, though less than a century old, has upon her roll the names of most distinguished and honorable sons, whose lives, characters and deeds are interwoven with the history of our country, and the management of its most important concerns; statesmen of worldwide celebrity, with wise discrimination and broad-minded integrity, who have paid obedience to no command but the will of heaven; clergymen whose pious ministrations in the quiet and peaceful circles of life have elevated the standard of public and private morals, and have been a solace and benediction; heroes whose deeds of valor, performed in the line of duty for the cause of their country, are preserved in song and story, and whose names will ever be held in tenderest remembrance by a proud and grateful people; and poets, too, with felicity of thought and grace and charm of expression,

whose songs and verse are sung with pleasure and delight the world around—but no name among them all is more highly honored, and no memory more deeply treasured than that of my friend and your friend, our own citizen, the great commoner, Thomas B. Reed.

He was to the manner born; he was our great representative citizen, born, bred and educated in Maine, and during all that illustrious career which gave him a worldwide name and fame, he hailed from Maine, our own State, and his death was and is irreparable, not only to the world and the great city, that great metropolis which he had made his business home, but to Maine, who claimed him as her own, her son.

When the history of our own day and time is finally written, the name of Reed will occupy a full page, and when thereafter that page is read, a sigh of deep regret will ever express lament that the world was too early deprived of the originality, the mental vigor and prowess, and the positive character of this great man, while he was yet in the full enjoyment of complete strength of mind and intellectual power.

Let us not permit his name and fame to be forgotten. Let us cherish his noble and manly virtues and endeavor to kindle the fires of ambition within the hearts and minds of our youth to emulate his example, and may we set aside a place in our public archives where the memory of this great citizen shall be kept forever green.

His was a busy life—a constant struggle, but a succession of most brilliant victories. When the end came and the light went out, all classes and conditions of men, representing all shades of opinion, at once paused to reverently and with uncovered head, give united expression of sincere sorrow at his death, to pay solemn tribute to his greatness, and sign the universal verdict of mankind throughout the world, that Thomas Brackett Reed was a Christian gentleman, a great and incorruptible statesman, an eminent, resourceful and accomplished lawyer, and an honest man.

REMARKS OF HON. CYRUS W. DAVIS, REPRESENTATIVE FROM WATERVILLE.

Your Excellency and Gentlemen of the Assembly:

This august assemblage, this hour this place echoing yet with the statesmanship of that distinguished citizen whose memory we cherish, admonishes us that the emotions of our hearts and not our spoken words, are the sincerest endorsement of the resolutions now before this Convention.

In the words of Daniel Webster, "If there be anything in associations fit to affect the mind of man, we need not strive to repress the emotions which agitate us here."

Your Excellency, a gigantic pine has fallen—reared in the grand old State of Maine, where excellence in statesmanship has ever been an object lesson to our youth; where in the light of the constitution is taught the fundamental doctrine that the nation rests in the cottage; that morality is the enduring basis of true greatness, Thomas Brackett Reed was a natural product; and his inheritance of courage, of manliness, of independence, of adherence to principle, was but a logical sequence.

These environs, these mental and moral furnishings, made his pathway from the obscure advocate in his native town in 1865, to membership in the House in 1868, to the Senate in 1870, to attorney general in 1871 and 1872, to the National House in 1877 and to the Speakership in 1889 and again in 1897, a royal highway without crook or turn.

Speaker Reed was too broad an American to adhere unfalteringly to party usage or yield to party pressure against his personal convictions. He never subscribed to the toast: "Our country always right, but right or wrong, our country."

On the 27th of February, 1882. in that memorable Garfield memorial address in Congress, James G. Blaine made the assertion, that the three distinguished parliamentary leaders hitherto developed in this country were, Clay, Douglass and Stevens. To this distinguished list must now be added the illustrious name of Reed; for while Clay at 64 took the control of the Whig Party from the President who had received their suffrages—with Webster and Choate opposed and while Douglass forced Congress into a repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and while Stevens advanced his parliamentary leadership until Congress tied the hands of the President, Mr. Reed against entrenched precedent and usage, compelled a reluctant House to legislate; and thus inaugurated a new departure from established parliamentary proceedings in the American Congress.

Words faintly express our admiration for such a son of the Pine Tree State, or our loss in his departure from us.

Did I say a gigantic pine had fallen? Let us change the simile. A new fixed star shines in the Maine constellation; a star shines with lustre undimmed upon the pathway of duty and devotion to state and country which stretches before us.

We have a truer conception of loyalty to high ideals because of this illustrious citizen. His niche in the Hall of Fame and his place on the illumined page of history are both secure. May the day never come when these stalwart types of true American greatness under a Democracy cease to be a Maine product.

Your Excellency, I heartily endorse the resolutions now before this joint convention.

REMARKS OF HON. C. H. SMITH, REPRESENTATIVE FROM HARTLAND.

Your Excellency and Gentlemen of the Assembly:

It is not my purpose to attempt any extended eulogy on the illustrious life work of this illustrious statesman. It is not for me to seek to penetrate the veil and speak of him in that sphere as husband and father, as neighbor or townsman. More eloquent lips than mine can tell that which was his noblest calling and highest attainment. His love and affection for family and home. Others are here to tell the story of his kindness and loyalty to friend and kinsman. It is sufficient for me to contribute but a word, to bring a single flower of tender memory to add my little wreath of affectionate admiration in behalf of his sacred memory. Who of us, that have not observed while scanning the blue heavens above, with her millions of sparkling worlds, scattered sparingly here and there, a majestic star, pouring forth her richer and more radiant rays, surpassing all others. How true we find this of mankind. The laws of creation, having heir to us now and then a great and natural leader, towering far above his fellow beings, conspicuous among the distinguished sons reared from the rugged hills of the old Pine Tree State, is one whose name is not only familiar to the children of our every village, hamlet and town but of our South beneath her sunny skies, in distant California amid her fields of golden rocks, and yea, in far away New Zealand the name of Thomas Brackett Reed is written there.

A soldier has fallen. A hero is dead. Not while on the battlefield, amid the rush of contending parties; nor while in gallant leadership, leading his party onward and onward in her

every charge, with victory ever in hand, for he had laid down the gavel, and ceased to participate in the great political arena of his life. But we can never forget how we have known of him in this very hall, a leader of leaders, champion of champions. How we have known of him at Washington, confronted with the fiery blasts of jealousy and a divided house. How we have known of him as emancipating his people from the shackles of a filibustering contingent in the National House of Representatives. How we have known of him when our very hearts were beating that he might be selected as our standard bearer and chief magistrate over the grandest Nation ever visited by mankind. But he had met his final conqueror, and sank beneath his icy breath. Though silent is the grave, death can claim no victory. For that master mind, the handy work of the eternal God, will shine brighter day by day, while all others may grow dim with the space of time. His works are ended. No man can tell the results of his labors. But from memories shrine his name can never be effaced. The dreams of childhood and visions of old age vanish. Flowers bloom, blush and fade away. Stars fall from heaven and leave no trace behind them. But a life like Thomas Brackett Reed can never run its course and be forgotten, and when the fettered fangs of eternity were bearing his soul away, his life was just beginning.

REMARKS OF HON. ISAIAH K. STETSON OF BANGOR, SENATOR FROM PENOBSCOT COUNTY.

Your Excellency and Gentlemen of the Assembly:

I have been requested to add a few words to the noble thoughts which have been spoken to-day, expressing as they have, the sorrow we feel for the death of our illustrious statesman, Thomas B. Reed.

We have listened to the history of his life, including as it has, his great services to our State and nation, and while the narrative was being told, we were conscious of a proud feeling for the man, who had made the name of our good old State illustrious in the legislative hall of our country, and as we listened, we pondered on the source and strength of his character, which indeed made him stand out as a man among men.

It is worthy that our first thoughts should be given to grief, as we realize the loss our State and nation have sustained.

A strong man has departed and those who have preceded me have given their estimate of his character, of his life and of his genius.

They have expressed their sense of the great loss to our country and to his friends. A loss incapable of repair, but a loss that fills us with patriotic pride and fondness, and one which we will cherish, and consign to history, in the memory of a strong and great man.

It was in this hall that he first promised to maintain the laws of our State, and it was here while a representative for two terms, that his voice was heard in defense of our State and her rights.

It is well for us all, in the busy struggles and ambitions of life, when death has taken away a leader among men, to pause and to take one's thoughts away from worldly affairs, and bid the departed a farewell, before the "ranks close up and the column presses on."

In this room, where we may almost fancy there may still linger some echo of his familiar voice, it is most appropriate that we pay our fond, just tribute to his virtues and his memory.

We all realized his great mental attainments, and were conscious of the great strength and breadth of his mind, for it is well known that he was a lover of learning and he had that union of acuteness, judgment, and human feeling that makes a successful lawyer, and at the time of his death, he stood as one of the foremost jurists of our country.

As we review his life, the strong points in his character, which are firmly impressed on my mind, are his great administrative ability, his simplicity of personal qualities and his honesty and steadfastness of purpose.

These characteristics, to me, stamped him as one of the strongest of men, and what the greatest of the Greek historians said of Pericles, might equally well be said of our lamented friend: "He did not so much follow as lead the people, because he framed not his words to please them, like one who is gaining power by unworthy means, but was able and dared, on the strength of his high character, even to brave their anger by contradicting their will."

In closing, I will add, that his name stands the highest in the list of distinguished men who have occupied the great office of Speaker of the National House, and that to-day we mourn the loss of a distinguished official and an honest man.

REMARKS OF HON. JOSEPH W. PERKINS, REPRESENTATIVE FROM WILTON.

Your Excellency and Gentlemen of the Assembly:

I hope I shall not be considered obtrusive, if on this occasion for a brief moment, I mingle my humble voice with those whose ability I shall neither attempt or hope to equal, who have sought to do justice to the worth and memory of the deceased.

There is a lesson taught no less in the death than in the life of every man—eminently so in the case of one who has filled a large space and occupied a distinguished position in the thoughts and regard of his fellow-men. Thomas Brackett Reed, born in Portland, in 1839, received the advantages of an early school training, and was graduated from Bowdoin College in 1860. In succession he was twice a member of this House, a State senator, and attorney general. In 1876 he was elected a member of the National House of Representatives, and for twenty-two years, either as Speaker of the House or leader of the Republican forces, he was the central figure of that body. In 1899 he laid aside the cares, anxieties and honors of a political life and returned to the practice of law in the city of New York. By his death our country has lost one of its most eminent citizens and statesmen. His distinguished services as representative, State senator and attorney general in his native State, and as representative and Speaker of the National House of Representatives, are inseparably connected with the history of his country. He has in all these positions, exhibited a wisdom and patriotism which have made a deep and lasting impression upon the grateful hearts of his countrymen. His character was formed and developed by the influence of our free institutions. That the physical, mental and

moral faculties of Mr. Reed were superior to those of most men, cannot be questioned. They were not cultivated, improved and directed by any influence or circumstances wholly outside himself.

The road to wealth, to honor and to fame was open to him only through his own efforts; but he very soon made a deep and favorable impression upon the people of his native State, and upon the nation at large. His integrity, and his public and private life were absolutely spotless, his habits were temperate and his life simple.

He loved his old Portland home and his friends in that city above all else. At the bar and in his legislative services, he manifested those high qualities as a public speaker, which have secured for him so much popular applause and admiration. His physical and mental organization eminently qualified him to become a great and impressive speaker.

These personal advantages won the prepossessions of an audience, even before his intellectual powers began to move his hearers; and when his strong common sense, his profound reasoning, his clear conceptions of his subject in all its bearings, and his striking and beautiful illustrations, united with such personal qualities were brought to the discussion of any question, his audience was enraptured and convinced. His voice is silent on earth forever. The darkness of death has obscured the luster of his eye. But the memory of his services, not only in the State of Maine, not only to the United States, but for the cause of right and progress throughout the world, will live through future ages, as a bright example, stimulating and encouraging his own countrymen and the people of all nations in their patriotic devotions to country and humanity.

REMARKS OF HON. HAROLD M. SEWALL, REPRESENTATIVE FROM BATH.

Your Excellency and Gentlemen of the Assembly:

Sagadahoc can lay claim to none of the peculiar relations which existed between other constituencies represented here, and that leader and master of men who is gone.

We were of his political household, but our seat was not at his table. Not even from the abundant surplus of our endorsement of the principles of his party which we never failed to give, were we permitted to contribute to the suffrage which maintained him in that position his genius was so to exalt. He was educated, it is true, in the classic shades just beyond our borders, and some of the chosen friends of his youth were from our city. But these were ancient ties long since dissolved. He had become to us, in the vernacular of the coast, as a craft with whose build we were once familiar, but which had, since leaving us, acquired such breadth of beam, and draft of water, that we could no longer expect to see her navigate in our vicinity.

Mr. President, eulogy, eulogy of the sort common to these occasions, eulogy without discrimination, seems out of place here. He would not have had it. It was distasteful to the living. It were scarcely less than disloyalty to the dead.

Even this ceremony, so natural and gratifying to us, would not have been of his choosing. He believed that public servants were trustees of the people's time, and that these ceremonies were wasteful of that time. He used to cite with approbation, you will remember, the instance of the death of that other great Commoner, John Bright, and the action of the British House

of Commons, which, when he died, decided it would best honor his memory by proceeding with the country's business.

Speaking, then, with the frankness which he demanded from others if they were to have his respect, we may not conceal the fact that we did not always agree with him. But if he differed, he did not dissemble. And our troubles in life, whether in politics or any other relation, come not from such men as he, but from such as he was not, from those who being all things to all men, end in the final analysis in being but one thing to all men, and that falsity itself. And this was his greatest service, that he made sincerity a jewel to be prized even in politics, and that he wrote down in the lexicon of politics, so that he who runs may read and read forever, the lack of sincerity as the basest and most unpardonable of sins. It cost him dear, it cost him success as a politician in the popular acceptation of the term, it cost him—who that knows will say what it did not cost him?

But all this was not to be in vain. Reed hastened the coming of another day, a day when public service shall be emancipated from the stigma too often attaching to it, the stigma of selfishness, of unworthy motives and corrupt methods, when public service shall stand for what he stood for, devotion to country, without fear and without reproach, for comparative poverty, too, if in this poverty it shall have been begun.

And when that day comes, as come it must and will, men shall dare to proclaim themselves what they are, and not profess to be what they are not, to catch the passing fancy. It will be a day of intrepidity of intellect which will refuse, as his refused, to take on "the harness of routine and obsequiousness." Partisanship there shall be in that day, warm and ardent as was his own, but it shall be a partisanship which will elevate, as he elevated, political discussion to the plane of philosophy. A partisanship too which shall recognize the truth as he recognized and declared it, that thrice in a century the time comes when it is the duty

of every honest man "to reconsider his situation and to see if his party means what he means."

Reed did this for posterity, if not for us, and posterity will account him great. The world did so while he was yet of it, and such a verdict history does not set aside.

REMARKS OF HON. FORREST GOODWIN OF SKOWHEGAN, SENATOR FROM SOMERSET COUNTY.

Your Excellency and Gentlemen of the Assembly:

I hold it one of the greatest privileges of my life, in my humble way, to bring the tribute of one flower of love to lay upon the grave of him, whose death we mourn to-day; and if every friend of his, throughout the length and breadth of this fair land, should bring but one flower to his grave, that grave would be a very wilderness of flowers, wherein the odor of the orange blossoms of the South, and the roses of the West would mingle with the perfume of the pine.

For Mr. Reed had "troops" of friends. He was not, as has often been written, cold and cynical. He was a kind and lovable man; genial and generous, sympathetic and loyal; and those who were once admitted to the magic circle of his friendship, were bound to him by hooks of steel.

He was singularly pure in his private life, his habits, his thoughts and associates. I never heard him utter a profane or improper word, or voice a sentiment that the purest lady in the land might not have heard.

Mr. Reed was intensely independent, absolutely self-reliant. Brave and courageous, he never weakened in the face of opposition. Honest and incorruptible, he never "crooked the pregnant knee, that thrift might follow fawning." After twenty years of public service, he laid down the gavel of the House, and, like Cincinnatus of old, returned to his early vocation to earn a competency for himself and family, as poor as when he entered the public service. A splendid commentary on the native integrity and honesty of a great statesman. An honorable

example for the illustrious youth who would follow in his footsteps.

He never hurried, yet he was always prepared. He never did a great act but that he seemed capable of doing a greater. He was possessed to a wonderful degree of reserve power.

The Speaker's room at Washington, during his rule, was the rendezvous of the brightest minds of our country. Eminent scientists, famous writers, powerful financial magnates, and great social leaders, all found in him a receptive mind and a sympathetic listener.

He was a philosopher, accurate in his judgment of his fellow man. In a single sentence he could sum up the foibles and weakness of mankind. Once, in the Speaker's room, during the quorum fight, a Southern Congressman came into the room, and told Mr. Reed, with extravagant praise, what a great man he was, that his ruling was right, and only the stress of party politics made him oppose the same. Mr. Reed received it all with his usual politeness, and when the Congressman had retired, he turned in his chair and said, "You want to beware of a statesman, when he begins to exude molasses."

He grasped a situation quickly, and at once perceived the weak points of his adversary's case. At one time after he had made his quorum ruling, he counted as present, those who refused to vote; and his opponents rising from their seats, and wildly gesticulating, surged down the aisles, crying out "Czar! Usurper! Tyrant!" As soon as he could make himself heard his voice rang out in that inimitable drawl of his: "Will the gentlemen, who say they are not present, please resume their seats?" The sarcasm of that single sentence brought them to a realizing sense of the absurdity of their position, as nothing else could do.

Before Mr. Reed, we had two great Speakers of the House of Representatives, Mr. Clay and Mr. Blaine. Both were aggressive, eager, earnest and quick to strike when the opportunity

offered. In all this, Mr. Reed was their equal. But he was their superior in his ability to command and lead his followers on to victory. He was the greatest parliamentarian our country has ever known. He dominated the House of Representatives. He ruled it with a master hand.

I always think of Mr. Reed presiding over the House of Representatives, as some colossal god of mythology, dispensing justice to humanity, adored and loved by his followers; feared, yet admired by his enemies.

Sir, the mystery of death has never yet been solved. We do not know, when we wrap the mantle of the grave about us, whether we shall lie down to dreamless sleep through all eternity, or shall awaken with the coming of another dawn in a new world, where the flowers always bloom and the birds forever sing. But, sir, if there is anything that teaches me to believe in immortality, and makes me think there is a life beyond the grave, it is the fact that the great mind, the comprehensive intellect, the loving heart and infinite genius of Thomas Brackett Reed cannot be lost and gone forever. Somewhere, in the great mystery of the future, that mighty spirit must be working out the problems of eternity, and waiting upon the other shore, with loving eagerness, for the coming of the loved ones, whom he left behind. The star that sets must rise again.

In this legislative hall, Mr. Reed began his career, which culminated in so much honor and renown. It is eminently fitting, that, in this same hall, the people of the State he loved so well, should pay to him the last sad rites of mortality.

His life work is o'er, but his influence will be felt as long as legislative bodies convene, or governments of, for and by the people endure.

L. of C.

"Were a star quenched on high,
For ages would its light,
Still travelling downward from the sky,
Shine on our mortal sight.
So when a great man dies,
For years beyond our ken,
The light he leaves behind him, lies
Upon the paths of men."

REMARKS OF HON. EDWARD C. SWETT, REPRESENTATIVE FROM PORTLAND.

Your Excellency and Gentlemen of the Assembly:

Whoever has visited the Smithsonian Institute in Washington and looked upon the relics and mementoes of our great men, the arms and accoutrements of Grant, the desk of Lincoln, the pen of Webster, the uniform and equipments of Jackson, the staff of Franklin and the sword of Washington, has felt the natural impulse to take some of these objects in his hands, to poise and weigh and measure them, but has been deterred by the cautionary placard "Not to be handled," placed there lest some too curious or careless hand should disturb the careful arrangement or expose some flaw or weakness which might damage or destroy the sacred relic.

And often as we contemplate the lives and records of the dead, "de mortuis nil nisi bonum," reminds us like the cautionary placard not to investigate or scrutinize too closely.

But no such charitable precaution is necessary as we review the life of Thomas B. Reed. His bitterest enemy might write the record of his life and if he set down nothing but the truth, his dearest friend would not desire to expurgate a page or paragraph. His character, like virgin gold, withstands the acid of all criticism.

He was not typical. He was unique. He suggests no other statesman whom the English-speaking world has produced.

He combined the brilliant power of leadership of James G. Blaine, the rugged honesty of Hannibal Hamlin, the puritan integrity of purpose of William Pitt Fessenden, the simple modesty of Grant, the wit and humor of Lincoln, the profound

wisdom of Webster, the dauntless determination of Jackson, the keen philosophy of Franklin, and the pure patriotism of Washington, with a body, brain, heart, soul and mind of equal titanic stature.

> "The front of Jove himself,
> An eye like Mars, to threaten and command;
> A combination and a form indeed,
> Where every god did seem to set his seal
> To give the world assurance of a man."

And from the Canada line to the Rio Grande, from the Atlantic to the Pacific ocean, in all the length and breadth of our fair land, there was nothing that was more American than he.

It has been said that no man of our times in Congress, has been less understood, outside of Washington. Two comments frequently made show how superficial and uninformed was the general opinion of him throughout the country. One was that he was not a constructive statesman, and the other that he could not make a successful long speech. In the twenty-two years of his service in the House, he had no opportunity to fasten his name on any important measure. For all but eight years of the time, his party was in the minority, while for six out of the eight years he was in the chair. Yet no man living or dead had more to do with constructing the legislation passed by the House, when his party was in the majority. While he was Speaker he made the legislation of the party besides making it possible. He was the master of his own side before he was the master of the House.

When he began his parliamentary reform, in the fifty-first Congress, with a narrow Republican majority, enough Republicans disagreed with him to have defeated his purpose, if they had opposed him openly. He thought out then what he would do, if his Republican opponents united with the Democrats against him. He would have announced his resignation and

retired from Congress. But, although some strong men on the Republican side differed with him, they did not venture to oppose him publicly, after the great shout of triumph that went up from the Republicans when he began so suddenly to count a quorum. From that time he was the constructive statesman of the House, for six years, and until he left it. It is true that he did not often make long speeches, but that was because he did not like long speeches, and never made them if he could help it. He thought that a man ought to be able to say all that was worth saying in a short speech, unless the circumstances were very exceptional, and that, as a rule, long speeches were artificial, and he hated anything that was artificial.

A striking illustration of this point occurred in the debate upon the quorum rule. A distinguished Democrat, a former Speaker of the House, had made an able and elaborate argument against the right and power of the presiding officer to count him as present if he declined to answer to the roll-call; but his argument was swept away, and destroyed by Mr. Reed's comment, "The gentleman has consumed an hour and a half in endeavoring to prove to the House that he is not here."

There were no theatricals in his statesmanship, no posing for popularity, no catering for applause.

> "He would not flatter Neptune for his trident,
> Nor Jove for's power to thunder."

At the supreme moment of his public life, when he emancipated parliamentary procedure by the boldest, bravest and wisest decision that ever emanated from the presiding officer of the greatest legislative body in the world; he encountered the fiercest and most scurrilous assault ever made upon a presiding officer in the Congress of the United States. Accused of seeking to put upon his head a crown of glory at the expense of the rights of the House of Representatives, stigmatized as "revolutionary,"

"corrupt," "a usurper in defiance of parliamentary law," "a scurvy politician in defiance of right and justice," denounced from the floor of the House as "the worst tyrant that ever presided over a deliberative body," he held his course serene, dignified and masterful and calmly answered: "The House will not allow itself to be deceived by epithets. No man can describe the action and judgment of this Chair in language which will endure unless that description be true. Whatever is done, has been done in the face of the world, and is subject to its discriminating judgment."

For this greatest service rendered to the National House of Representatives since the adoption of the constitution, he was refused the customary courtesy of the unanimous thanks of the House to a retiring Speaker, for the first time in the history of the country; and in the solitude of the Speaker's room, with his noble head bowed upon his desk, and his great heart full to overflowing, in bitter tears he realized the irony of greatness.

"He who ascends to mountain tops shall find,
The loftiest peaks most wrapped in clouds and snow,
He who surpasses or subdues mankind,
Must look down on the hate of those below.
Though high above the Sun of Glory glow,
And far beneath the Earth and ocean spread,
Round him are icy rocks and loudly blow
Contending tempests on his naked head,
And thus reward the toils which to those summits lead."

But his justification was swift, full and complete, when in the Fifty-third Congress, paralyzed and helpless under the old rule, the Democratic leader rose and said:

"This is the question of whether this House of Representatives of the people of the United States shall have such rules for its government as will enable us to do the business that our constituents have sent us here to do. We have tried the old system, we have been here a month without doing two days' actual busi-

ness, and our constituents are tired of it, and I hope this House is tired of it; I will hail the adoption of this rule as the dawn of a new era in American legislation."

No justification could be more complete, no victory more triumphant, but with a grander grace and nobler dignity than that of Caesar when he put away the crown, Mr. Reed rose and said:

"Mr. Speaker, I do not desire to address the House again upon the general subject. This scene here to-day is a more effective address than any I could make. The House is about to adopt the principle for which we contended in the Fifty-first Congress; and is about to adopt it under circumstances which show conclusively to the country its value. No words that I can utter can add to the importance of the occasion. I congratulate the Fifty-third Congress upon the wise decision that it is about to make."

His devotion to his wife and daughter was the dominant feature of his life and the true index of his character. It was not chiefly because he differed from his party on the question of "Imperialism" or on any other question that he resigned from the House; but because he felt that he could not longer put off the accumulation of a competence to secure the future comfort of his family if he should be taken away. After a quarter of a century of public service, he retired from office honorably poor and immediately without solicitation on his part, was tendered a partnership in a leading New York law firm with a guaranteed income five times the amount of his salary as Speaker of the House. He was as easily pre-eminent in private life as in public office. He was welcomed to the highest circles of literature and art; and however numerous or distinguished was the company, "where the Macgregor sat, was the head of the table."

As Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States he towered in the vanguard of a line of brilliant statesmen,

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like Saul among the Apostles. As leader of the Republican minority, he stood in the gap at the head of his decimated cohort, holding the pass against all odds, and single-handed, in the midst of mighty adversaries, he was like Samson among the Philistines. Death struck him at the zenith of his fame, in full possession of all his splendid powers of intellect, and he fell

"As falls on Mount Alvernus, a lightning-smitten oak."

But Death has won no victory over Thomas B. Reed. Thank God, there are some things that Death cannot destroy or take away.

"It cannot take away the grace of life—
It's comeliness of look that virtue gives—
It's port erect with consciousness of truth—
It's rich attire of honorable deeds—
It's fair report that's rife on good men's tongues—
It cannot lay its hands on these, no more
Than it can pluck his brightness from the Sun,
Or with polluted finger tarnish it."

61st Congress, 3d Session | SENATE | Document No. 864

THOMAS BRACKETT REED

ADDRESS

BY

HON. SAMUEL W. McCALL

UPON THE UNVEILING OF

THE MONUMENT OF

HON. THOMAS BRACKETT REED

AT PORTLAND, ME.

AUGUST 31, 1910

PRESENTED BY MR. LODGE

March 3, 1911.—Ordered to be printed

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ADDRESS BY HON. SAMUEL W. McCALL UPON THE UNVEILING OF THE MONUMENT OF HON. THOMAS BRACKETT REED, AT PORTLAND, ME., AUGUST 31, 1910.

A statue of a human figure, which does not represent a mere abstraction but a real and once breathing man, draws much of its significance from the nature of the forces creating it and also from a fit association with the spot where it is reared. At a time when government is expected to do everything, it is becoming quite too much the fashion to build monuments by law and pay for them by money taken by taxation from the people. The tribute thus rendered involves no special sense of sacrifice on the part of any human being. It is indeed cold compared with that which is paid by voluntary gifts and comes springing from the hearts of the givers. In one of the public squares of Washington stands a figure of Lincoln. It is not striking merely as a work of art, but it acquires a beauty and a pathos from the fact that it was reared by many small gifts from men and women whom his immortal proclamation had made free. It is surely a felicity that the statue of Thomas Brackett Reed which you unveil to-day should have been raised by the free gifts of those who knew and loved him and not from a levy upon any public treasury. Nothing could be happier also than its association with the spot where it is placed. It is ideally fitting that it should stand in the streets where he once played as a boy, in the city where he was born and lived nearly his whole life through, and where he now rests from his labors. I imagine you did not have in mind at all the last sentence of that beautiful speech of his spoken here a quarter of a century ago, but how perfectly this occasion seems to respond to it:

> Whatever fame great achievements may bestow, whatever honors the world may give, it is ever the most cherished hope of every seeker after fame or fortune to be kindly remembered and lovingly honored on the spot which gave him birth.

It is no common thing for the citizens of a city like this, the commercial capital of a great State, to set up a statue in its streets, and we are now to render some answer to the question, What reason justifies this hour and what is its real meaning? The answer was simpler, although the occasion had no greater merit when you were putting up the statue of Longfellow; and it was simpler because of the difference in the nature of their work between a poet and a statesman. The statesman lives in the field of practical controversy; the poet in the realm of ideals. It is not an uncommon fate of poets to be neglected in their lifetime and to have their birthdays celebrated in after generations. But the statesman is fêted in his life and too commonly forgotten when he is dead. It is not difficult, I think, to

find the reason for this difference. The poet, if he be a real one as yours was, deals not with the shifting conditions of the time, but with what Sainte-Beuve called "the eternal humanity." Time takes little from the sweetness of his songs, and ages after he is gone they go as freshly and as warmly to the hearts of men as when they first dropped from his lips.

And the genuine poet sings not merely to other ages, but to other countries than his own, and there is a simplicity and a universality to his fame. But the statesman has to do with the complex machinery of the State, never more complex than now, and however ardently he may wish to realize his ideals and fly above the clouds, he may not get too far from the earth without coming suddenly too near it with the vast interests in his keeping, in the collapse of a general ruin. He deals, too, with the shifting sands of popular opinion instead of with the "eternal humanity" and the absorbing issues of to-day are thrust aside by the aggressive issues of to-morrow and are forgotten. Much of his work is blended into the general aggregate of social achievement and does not stand visibly by itself. His fame is less universal since the barriers of patriotism often hedge it in. But yet he richly earns the gratitude of his time and of posterity, if he does his duty well, for the State is an indispensable instrument of civilization, making it possible for men to thrive, for cities to spring up, for poets to sing, and, indeed, for society to exist. And so you honor to-day one who deserved the name of statesman in the noblest meaning it can have with us, since it is men like him who keep the idea of representative government from dying out. He was not lacking in the practical touch demanded by the nature of his work, and yet practical as his work was we shall see how finely and firmly he lived up to his ideals.

In order the better to understand what manner of man he was, let us consider the character of the stock from which he sprung. For two centuries before he was born his ancestors in nearly every line dwelt along the seacoast now included in Maine. It was not one of the great settlements which George Cleve, himself an ancestor of Reed, planted on the shores of Casco Bay, but no other settlement in America can claim a more stirring and dramatic history. Cleve was as masterful a man as ever led out a colony to found a new empire. He was an independent in religion, but his little settlement was not entirely made up of those who believed in his own creed. The Royalist, free-living element among them occasionally became conspicuous and gave themselves some of the pleasures of life, although it is not easy to imagine a narrower range of gayety than that spread before them. After a little time Massachusetts asserted its title to this coast, and, with the aid of the whipping post and the ducking stool, planted a civilization here upon the most austere Puritan models. The Cleve settlement was upon a dangerous frontier, with the Indian and Frenchman to the north. More than once during its first century it was all but obliterated in Indian wars. Portland was depopulated and remained a waste place for a generation. The original settlement was almost purely of the Germanic or Anglo-Saxon stock, Puritan chiefly, though with a touch of what was called the Cavalier, and it was augmented by additions from the Massachusetts Puritan and Pilgrim, and later by an infusion of the Scotch-Irish and the Huguenot bloods.

But it remained decidedly Anglo-Saxon. Two centuries after it had been planted it is doubtful whether a population more purely of the English blood could have been found anywhere, either in the old country or in the new. It was thus of the great imperial race of the world. From one motive or another, that race has spread from its little island nest into the empty lands over all the habitable globe, carrying with it a genius for self-government and planting everywhere free commonwealths. Its instinct for government is so persistent that even when it has emptied the jails of London and sent forth penal colonies it has after a time, like flowing water, worked itself pure and exhibited again the spirit of orderly government. Sidney Smith was not simply employing the touch of the satirist when he predicted that the time might come when some Botany Bay Tacitus would record the crimes and splendors of an emperor lineally descended from a London pickpocket.

The men who founded the State of Maine were the choicest specimens of the English race. They were willing to face the perils of the ocean, at that time terrible in reality and more terrible still to the imagination; to brave a rigorous climate; to strive to wring a living from an infertile soil and from the sea; and to wage long wars against the red man in order that they might enjoy civil and religious liberty. While the original purity of the stock has been unimpaired, the psychologists of the Nation tell us that a new race practically has been evolved from this intense struggle and this new environment, with strong, new qualities grafted upon the old.

Reed's first ancestor of his name in this country apparently came to Salem, Mass., about 1630, and the son of this ancestor found his way to Maine. Reed never concerned himself much about his remote pedigree. He accepted himself as he was, without a wish to invoke in his behalf the merit of ancestors, content to know the general character of his stock. He once proposed a toast to Maine, settled, as he said, "chiefly by the blood of old England, but always preferring liberty to ancestry." His ancestors, he once remarked, never held any position of great emolument, judging by his own financial condition when he arrived. There can be no doubt, however, of the excellence of the individual lines blended in him, containing as they did the George Cleve and the Massachusetts Puritan and Pilgrim strains. Some of his ancestors were captured or killed in the Indian wars, and another was with Paul Jones when he captured the *Serapis*. His own father was a sea captain commanding sailing vessels in the coasting trade, a calling which required authority and courage.

Reed was very fortunate in his education. In his later years he declared that he had long thought it the greatest good fortune of his life that he had spent five and one-half years under Master Lyford, a famous teacher of the Portland Boys' High School. After a thorough preparation he entered Bowdoin College at the age of 16. The modern college had not then come into existence, and Bowdoin offered a course containing much Latin, Greek, and mathematics, with few or no elective studies, and gave the rigid discipline of the best American colleges at that time. It was a discipline that has bred scholars and poets and statesmen, teaching them how to think and write and speak. At the head of the faculty was Leonard Woods, probably as cultivated and cosmopolitan a president as could be found in any college of that day. He had with him a small band

of professors, nearly every one of whom was so distinguished as to be known even to this time outside the circles of his own college. After four years of study in close personal contact with such men he was graduated, almost the youngest man in a class numbering 55, of whom he was the leader in scholarship in the senior year and the fifth in average rank for the entire course. Aside from the regular work, he took the prize in writing, was an editor of the college paper, and was active in sports and in the social life of the college. We get a fascinating glimpse of him and of his care-free manner in a passage in one of his letters describing a long walk which he took upon a brilliant winter evening, when he would occasionally rest by throwing himself on his back upon high snowdrifts and gaze wonderingly upon the planet Jupiter. Enough is known of his college career to permit us to see his natural and easy growth and the spirit in which he strove to fashion himself in that bright morning time—

> Ere the hot sun count
> His dewy rosary on the Eglantine.

Those were four happy and fruitful years which he passed going in and out beneath the Brunswick elms, and there were few college men of that time who might not have envied him his opportunities for real culture and the manner in which he improved them. Like many another American boy, he was forced to rely somewhat upon his own efforts to meet his college expenses. There is an ideal touch in the circumstance, as if to prefigure his own career, that he was helped by another son of Bowdoin of kindred character who has won honorable place in the history of his country, William Pitt Fessenden. In the letter conveying payment of the full balance of the loan and interest young Reed gratefully wrote Fessenden:

> I have seen enough of the world to know that I might live as long again without finding a man who would do such an act of kindness in so kind a manner.

In taking account of the special influences which helped to mold his mind and fit him for the work he was to do, we must not overlook his service in the Civil War and his residence in California.

He was accustomed afterwards to speak lightly of his career of something more than a year as assistant paymaster in the Navy, as indeed he was wont to speak lightly of anything that might seem to increase his own personal importance. It was one of the precepts which he used to impress with a touch of drollery that "we make more progress by owning our faults than by always dwelling on our virtues." He might well have pointed out that when the ship sinks the paymaster is as likely to go down as is the fighting sailor, but he said the Navy meant to him "not the roaring wind and the shrieking shot and shell, but smooth water and the most delightful time of my life." The Mississippi River, where he saw the most of his service, was at that time a scene of unsurpassed dramatic interest, and the time spent upon it, whether in fighting or not, broadened his experience greatly, just as his residence in California in the formative days of that community widened the outlook of the future statesman.

His career at the bar was admirable in its training for the public service. It was of the sort to develop whatever talent he had for the law, a talent that was certainly great. In his first five years of

practice he established himself so notably that he was made the attorney general of his State when but 30 years old, the youngest age at which that office has ever been held in Maine. He was attorney general for three years during a time when the office dealt with a great variety of litigation, some of it as important as could engage the attention of a lawyer. He filled the place with great success. Then, for four years, he was counsel for the city of Portland. Thus, after a dozen busy years in which he maintained himself in the courts against lawyers of eminence, a period long enough to train him thoroughly as a lawyer and not so long as to put his faculties in perpetual slavery to that calling, and after a service in both houses of the Maine Legislature, he was elected to Congress at the age of 37.

The term of Reed's first Congress began on the day when Gen. Hayes took the oath of office as President, an event which, if it did not inauguarte a new era, emphasized with a good deal of clearness an important transition in our history. It marked the end of State governments supported by national bayonets and witnessed the restoration in form at least of civil government throughout the Union. At the first look, the 4th of March, 1877, appeared to usher in a time of political sterility succeeding an heroic age. We had witnessed so many signal events compressed within a brief period; we had fought among ourselves the greatest of wars; had freed 4,000,000 slaves, and had at once made them, so far as paper could do it, equal self-governing members of our great democracy, and the doctrine of equal rights, both civil and political, had never before in the history of the world been practically applied on so stupendous a scale.

After these achievements we had become politically blasé and the ordinary routine of prosperous government was sure to pall upon the senses. We were attuned to the spectacle of having society abstractly reconstituted every election day according to the most ideal models. The time that was coming in might seem humdrum, because it was to succeed so impatient a régime when we strove to attain in a day an ultimate perfection and to experience all the sensations that come to a nation in a very long lifetime.

But important questions were pressing themselves forward, not in a dramatic fashion, but with the quiet persistency with which natural laws compel attention, serious questions of governmental honesty, of finance, of the standard of value of our money, of taxation—all vitally involving not merely the prosperity but the honor and even the stability of the Nation. President Hayes courageously grappled with the new order. Although under the shadow of a clouded title, he won such success as to reestablish his party and, what is of far greater consequence, to deserve the gratitude of the oncoming generation.

It was at the moment of this transition that Reed first took his seat in the House as a Republican. In the general principles of his party he firmly believed. Above all else he was possessed with the passion for human rights, which was the noblest heritage of the war. All issues relating to that as well as the supremacy of the Central Government within its sphere, the war had settled large for him. The House is a forum where, as he afterwards said, "distinction won in other fields of endeavor will gain a man a hearing for the first time, but not afterwards." Although he had a brilliant career at

the bar and as a member of the Maine Legislature, he had established no reputation of the sort that would precede him to Washington. He went there with the ordinary passports of the new Member, and his career was entirely before him. With his ideal equipment for the work of the House, however, it was inevitable that he should speedily establish himself.

The first real opportunity came in his appointment to the committee to investigate charges of fraud in connection with the presidential election. The manner in which he performed his part of the work attracted the attention of the country. Most of the Republican leaders were disqualified from membership by the terms of the resolution, and, although a new Member, Reed was appointed. On the other hand, his political opponents were the seasoned veterans of their party. As he said of them, the household troops were ordered up. In a short offhand speech upon the subject of the investigation, called out by an incautious attack by a member of the opposite party, he first gave the House a touch of his unique qualities as a debater. In that speech he displayed to such advantage his sarcastic humor, his power of repartee, and his force of argument, that he took rank at once as the most formidable debater upon his side of the House.

To trace minutely his course during his service in the House would be to write a history of all the important legislation of that period. I shall refer only to those subjects that clearly overshadowed all others in the contests of that time. We now approach a field which has not yet passed exclusively into the domain of the historian. Some of the political questions of that day are still in issue and others have been so recently removed from politics that the fires yet smolder near the surface, compelling one to walk with caution.

Upon the questions relating to the standard of our money, no clear line of division separated the parties. Members of each party were to be found upon both sides. Reed has expressed the opinion that a large majority of the American people favored inflation during the administration of President Hayes and that his courageous veto by arresting attention gave them a chance for reflection. Certainly their Representatives were ready to pass by large majorities bills for printing more greenbacks and for coining light-weight dollars. The wickedness of the "bloated bondholder" seemed for the moment to engage the attention of that class of orators never absent in a democratic government who seek to win the suffrages of the people by inflaming them with a sense of fancied wrong. Reed's course from the outset was notably consistent. He stood resolutely for the maintenance of the gold standard. From the time when he opposed the coinage bill of 1878 until the final popular decree in 1896, he was the most potent force in the House of Representatives for maintaining gold as the standard of our money. The device embodied in the Sherman law, he was persuaded, was necessary to forestall the passage of a free-coinage bill, but he strongly supported President Cleveland's effort to repeal that law, and under his leadership the far greater number of his party associates in the House voted for repeal. He gave the President unflinching support throughout the whole of the splendid fight which he made for maintaining the integrity of our money.

As a constitutional result of the war, the black man was counted equally with the white in apportioning Representatives among the

States, and the suppression of his vote gave to the war the practical result of greatly increasing the political power of the southern white man in the National Government. Reed stood by the position of his party in favor of an election law to enable the vote of the colored man to be safely cast and honestly counted in all national elections. The time was still hot with the passions of the war and some of its fiercest parliamentary contests were waged over this question.

The tariff struggle has been a perennial one since the adoption of the Constitution, and it was then particularly raging. Five general revisions of the tariff passed the House while Reed was a member of it—two Democratic and three Republican—although the essential difference between them justified very little of the heat displayed in the controversy. Reed believed in encouraging manufactures, although the argument that seemed most strongly to weigh with him was of a social character and was based upon our higher standard of living, which required a higher wage than in the countries with which the competition was most keen.

As a debater and parliamentary leader he must be accorded high rank. For nearly the entire period of his service the parties were so evenly balanced in the country that no party could be said to be in control of the Government. The House was usually Democratic, the Senate Republican, while the Presidency alternated between the two parties. From 1877 to 1889 all the three parts of the legislative machine were not controlled by the same party at any single time, except for a period of two years. The Democratic Party, so long victorious before the war, was again reviving; and having control of the great popular branch of the Government, the House became the theater of the struggle, and it was there that the contest was most bitterly waged for the possession of the Government. I doubt if there has been another period of equal length in our history when the House was the scene of so much desperate party warfare, so much fighting of the short-sword order, and when there was a more imperative call for the qualities that fit men for intellectual combat. The Democratic Party was represented in that body by a group of extremely able men, comprehending a wide diversity of talent. In the combination of resources which they presented it would be difficult to match them at any other time in the history of the House. It had parliamentary leaders and debaters like Carlisle, Randall, Crisp, and Turner, orators like Wilson, Cochran, and Bryan, and the list of its members possessing a really high order of talent might be much further prolonged. The necessity of the situation required the Republicans to keep their strongest man at the front. There are times when the demands of the place are less exacting and some man of fairly respectable talent may be chosen by political intrigue in preference to a stronger man and may successfully go through the forms of leadership. But in this instance the best was none too good, and it is no disparagement of the Republican membership to say that when Reed became its leader he was so preeminently the man for the place as to stand in a class by himself; and from that time until he left the House 16 years later he remained at the head of his party, the longest period that any man has been the leader of a party in either the Senate or the House. Men have been successful at the head of an opposition who have failed in attempting to lead a victorious party. Others

have lacked in the fertility of resource necessary to attack who yet with a majority about them could stubbornly conduct a defensive battle.

But Reed had the well-rounded qualities that made him equally successful both as minority and majority leader. He is, however, more interesting as minority leader, because in the evolution of our political institutions it became the custom to make the leader of the majority in the House the Speaker, and the limitations of that office were not so well adapted to his temperament as was the freedom of the floor. For 10 years he led the minority, sometimes with a force at his back nearly equal to that of his antagonists and sometimes with a little band behind him outnumbered 3 to 1. It is the simple truth to say that great and varied as was the array of talent against him, he never was overmatched and he never appeared to have all his reserves brought into action.

Let us take some account of his equipment. His appearance was most impressive. Giant as he was in stature, he looked every inch a leader. His very look fixed the attention of the House. He was slow and distinct in enunciation, with a powerful and strident voice capable of cutting through the confusion and penetrating to the farthest recesses of the enormous hall. He always used the lower tones of his voice, some of which were of great sweetness. He spoke without visible effort, rarely making a gesture, and a fine, strong light shone from his brilliant eyes, although in moments of great excitement they blazed with a consuming fire.

His mind was a fit companion to his body. He had a remarkable power of statement, and when he was dealing with his opponent's case, instead of stating it first and then overthrowing it, he would often demolish it in the statement itself. "What the House likes best," he once said, "is plain statement, hard-hitting, and sense enough to know when one is done." He was able to seize unerringly upon the vital point in a controversy, and he would not concern himself over the little issues. He had the good taste to speak simply. He saw things clearly, could express his exact meaning in admirably chosen words, and his sentences were without a blemish from the standpoint of form. As to the commonplace shifts of the orator, the balanced periods and the worked-up passages, he never patronized them.

But his preeminent quality was his humor, a quality until recent times very little used in public speaking, judging from the examples that have come down to us. Prior to the middle of the nineteenth century oratory with us seems to have been a desperately serious calling. One would no more look for a joke in one of the approved speeches of that time than in a demonstration of Euclid. And some real humor would certainly mitigate their reading very much. Even that prince of orators, Daniel Webster, would be more widely read if he had not so sternly restrained the sense of humor which he undoubtedly possessed. Reed's humor often showed the finish and perfection of the finest wit, but there were no small barbed arrows in his quiver. It was rather, like the body of his argument, the play of heavy artillery, and it could as effectively sweep the field.

His willingness to accept battle was superb. What was said of a famous debater in the British Parliament could truthfully be said of him: "He went out in all weathers;" but the weather that

delighted him most was the storm; and no weather seemed so rough as to disturb his coolness and self-control. His speeches will usually be found in the Record just as he delivered them. He did not emulate some of the great orators of former times, not to mention our own, and struggle with an occasion after it had passed by. He had not the habit of withholding his speeches for revision, to clothe them with a rhetoric which he would have spoken, but they were printed the next morning as they had been delivered.

He never wasted words. "Speech," he once said, "dies upon the empty air. Better a pound of fact than a shipload of language." During his service in the House it is doubtful if he made a half dozen speeches as long as a half hour, and the length of the greater number of them would not exceed five minutes. Those short speeches light up the Record and are models of their kind, making the situation clear and bringing the House to a sense of what it was doing. On two occasions only did his speeches approach two hours in length, one being the closing argument for his side against the Mills tariff bill and the other the closing argument against the Wilson bill. Each occasion was the culmination of a long and bitter party controversy. The Mills bill embodied the central policy upon which Cleveland's campaign for reelection in 1888 was to be waged. The tariff was much discussed in those days, and in three successive presidential elections it was the overshadowing issue. It filled the mouths of our statesmen with large figures, and their contributions to the "dismal science" were usually in keeping with its name. An ancient tariff speech, of all speeches in the world, is not apt to be the most entertaining reading, but Reed's speech on the Mills bill is worth reading even to-day. There are indeed few congressional speeches of equal length that will bear reading so well. It has none of the wooden qualities of the spoken essay, no particle of the ornate fustian which so often made the pretentious speech of the last century such a thing of terror, but it is a fighting speech, glowing from beginning to end, full of irony, argument, wit, and eloquence, and was equally effective at the moment and when read later in the campaign it was chiefly meant to influence.

The debate upon the Wilson bill took place at the climax of the tariff agitation. It was the dramatic moment of a political battle running through all of Cleveland's contests for the Presidency.

In the first he was elected, in the next defeated, and at last again victorious, and for the first time supported by both Houses of his own political faith, he was at the head of a party responsible for the passage of a tariff bill, and one was about to be enacted which pleased nobody and which he himself refused to sign. The closing of the debate in the House presented a memorable spectacle, fitly marking the culmination of this long political struggle. The Capitol could scarcely contain the throng, and the great Chamber and its galleries were crowded to suffocation. Although the speech of Reed on that day began with the statement that "if anything seems to have been discussed until human nature can bear it no more, it is the tariff," both in its immediate effect and as it is read in the Record, it was worthy of a great occasion and measures up to the best standards of parliamentary eloquence.

I believe that he has not been excelled as a debater by any man ever in the House of Representatives. There have been orators who

have given more attention to rhetorical finish, but no man has surpassed him in the history of the House, certainly for three-quarters of a century, in power of condensed statement, in a destructive ridicule, and in the stately and even flow of his speech, massive and strong. He appeared to the best advantage in his short speeches. That is not true of some of the other great parliamentary speakers. Take, then, either of his two longest efforts in the House, to which I have just been referring, that on the Wilson bill or that on the Mills bill. Read it by the side of any other debating speech you may select, either from the House of Commons or the House of Representatives, taking, however, a speech of the modern era, when shorthand reporting had been developed, that you may know you are reading a real speech and not an imaginary oration with the fine outbursts and beautiful periods, the careful result of after preparation. I believe that Reed will stand the test so far as the reading is concerned. Then if you wish to imagine the immediate effect, remember that his delivery exactly fitted what he said, and that in action he looked the 20,000-ton battleship, with all its range of armament, its great and little guns in full play, and that with his variety and force of attack he seemed at the time invincible.

Reed, as minority leader dealing with the rules, was always engaging the other side and putting its leaders to the necessity of using all their wits. No man ever had a better command of the procedure of the House. He played the parliamentary game hard, but played it according to the rules, and he never sought to embark the House upon revolution.

While as minority leader he was opposed to legislative anarchy, as leader of the majority he stood equally against legislative impotency. More conspicuously than with any other thing his name is identified with the overthrow of a system which enabled a minority, by refusing to vote, to produce a legislative paralysis and for negative purposes to control the action of the House.

Speaker for six years, under the long-established practice of the House he was therefore its leader. He stated with exactness the character of the speakership when he was first chosen. In a speech, none the less admirable because in point of brevity it was at the time probably without parallel upon a like occasion, he said that under our system as developed the duties of his office were both political and parliamentary.

> So far as the duties are political, I sincerely hope that they may be performed with a proper sense of what is due to the people of this whole country. So far as they are parliamentary, I hope with equal sincerity that they may be performed with a proper sense of what is due to both sides of this Chamber.

Our speakership undeniably possesses this dual character and the question is often asked why it should have taken on the political aspect, when the speaker of the British House of Commons is in effect a judicial officer. The chief reason may be found in the difference between our parliamentary systems. In England there is an intermingling of the executive and legislative functions. All the ministers of the Crown are members of the one legislative chamber or the other. The leading minister in the House of Commons is the leader of that body. He and his colleagues in office direct its affairs and conduct the Government under their responsibility to the Commons.

When they fail to command a majority they go out of office. But we have no cabinet system. We do indeed have what is called a cabinet, but its members are purely executive subordinates of the President, a species of magnificent head clerks, and are entirely lacking in parliamentary functions. The Constitution contemplated separate departments, with Congress in a region by itself passing laws, and the President in his own secluded domain executing them, with an occasional formal message "on the state of the Union." But no great Government can be effectively run with the two branches of its central political department only upon formal speaking terms, with the President sending coldly constitutional and polite notes to Congress and the latter in its own good time replying or not as it should see fit to do. To insure that harmony which is essential in the workings of all the parts of such a vast and complex governmental machine, there must be practical ways of reaching an intimate understanding. Through a process of evolution the speakership had come to be an important instrument in supplying the apparent gap left by the Constitution between the executive and legislative departments and to put them upon more workable terms. It presented the advantages of a centralized leadership representing in the first instance the popular branch of the legislature and tended to secure a measure of the unity in government secured by the cabinet system. And as a balance to the President, such a commanding figure on Capitol Hill, always responsible to the House and subject to being overruled by it, has operated as a check upon the obvious tendency to autocracy incident to the growth of the Government and the centralization of power at Washington.

The central and dramatic event in Reed's speakership was the counting of the quorum. The large number of the quorum required in the House, eightfold larger than that of the British House of Commons when the difference in the number of members is taken into account, makes it difficult for the party in control to maintain a quorum out of its own membership unless its majority is very large. It had for many years been the settled practice for the minority to attempt to defeat legislation to which they were opposed by abstaining from voting when they could not accomplish the same result by directly voting against it. Thus the majority had frequently been compelled to abandon legislation. The majority of the House might actually be present, but the method of determining its presence had been by the vote, and if a majority had not voted upon the roll call, business could not proceed. In Reed's first speakership his party had a very small majority. After a roll call upon a party question when less than a quorum of Members had responded to their names, although many more were present, he directed the Clerk to note the presence of those who were present but had not voted. Thus a quorum was made up, and the vote was announced in favor of the proposition which had received a majority of those who had seen fit to vote. His reasons were simple, and they were unanswerable from the constitutional standpoint. If Members could be present and refuse to exercise their function—

the provision of the Constitution giving the House power to compel attendance of absent Members would seem to be entirely nugatory. Inasmuch as the Constitution only provided for their attendance, that attendance was enough.

This ruling was followed by a parliamentary storm unprecedented in severity in the history of the House. For many hours it was not possible to proceed with the ordinary business on account of the uproar. Members rushed down the aisles, filled the area in front of the Speaker, and denounced him with great violence of language as a tyrant and a czar. He held himself calm and unmoved amid the tumult, sustained by the consciousness that he was right, and that he was announcing a procedure which the Constitution contemplated and the growing demands of the country's business made absolutely necessary.

The Supreme Court subsequently upheld the constitutionality of Reed's ruling, but his triumph was to be even more complete. His opponents were formally to sanction it. In a later Congress, when he led the minority and the party in control had returned to the ancient practice, he attacked it with every resource known to parliamentary law and succeeded in demonstrating its unsoundness. His antagonists, although they had a large majority, were unable to furnish a quorum from their own ranks. Reed's party, under his lead, refrained from voting, and thus for weeks the transaction of business was made impossible. And the men who had vehemently denounced him were compelled at last to adopt the principle of his ruling and affirm the practice that if a quorum is actually present the House can transact business whether Members vote or not. That has ever since been the law of the House.

It required courage of the highest order to overturn the precedents of a century made by all parties, and previously assented to by himself, and to establish a principle so correct and in accordance with common sense. But he was not disturbed upon the question of consistency. His dictum upon the subject proves that.

> I do not promise—

He said—

> to give wisdom of adamant. I will give them honestly what my opinion is at the time; they must take the chances of its being for eternity.

It has required a man of unusual quality to direct our great popular assembly in the days since the Civil War, when the business of the Government has grown so enormously, when the pressure from private interests has vastly increased, and when partisanship has usually run so high. It is no light task to moderate that great turbulent body and to maintain orderly procedure. As Speaker, Reed fitly embodied the dignity of the House, and it never had a presiding officer who more inflexibly and fairly administered its rules.

No greater Speaker ever presided over the House. Henry Clay, who directed not merely the affairs of the House, but to a large extent of the country during his speakership, was constantly taking the floor. He made a dozen or more speeches at a single session. I am not aware that during his whole speakership Reed took the floor either in the House or in Committee of the Whole. He held himself austerely in reserve. His rulings were models of just expression and possessed a weight and condensed power which it is difficult to match. He had the courage calmly to rise to great occasions, and with a heroism only equaled by his insight he established the greatest landmark in the parliamentary law of the House.

Just at the end of his public career a new set of issues were coming forward. He was opposed to the annexation of the Sandwich Islands, firmly believing that it was for the interest of the Republic to remain a continental power, and that it would contribute most effectively to the cause of good government throughout the world by furnishing the example of a well-governed democratic state and by scrupulous respect for the rights of weaker peoples. He was equally opposed to the Spanish War and used the power of his office, so far as he properly could, to prevent both the annexation and the war. That power was great, but no man knew better than he that the Speaker was far from omnipotent; that he could only lead where the House was willing to follow, and his efforts were unavailing.

The war was begun for the avowed purpose of putting an end to a condition in the Western Hemisphere which was within our traditional sphere of action, but the important question it bequeathed to us was whether we should become an Asiatic power and take upon ourselves the government of populations almost under the Equator in the seas of the Orient. Reed's political education, the practice of his whole life, and his view of the fundamental principle of the American commonwealth made his position upon this question inevitable. Long before the Philippines appeared upon our horizon he declared in a speech in the House "that the best government of which a people is capable is a government which they establish for themselves. With all its imperfections, with all its shortcomings, it is always better adapted to them than any other government, even though invented by wiser men." The idea that America should violate its traditional principle of self-government and enter upon the work of governing subject States he hated with all the fierce hatred of a vanishing time. It seemed to him like abandoning the principle which made her unique among the nations. He was profoundly stirred by our taking on "the last colonial curse of Spain," but it had been done by a treaty solemnly ratified by the Senate, and he had come to the parting of the ways. His reelection to the speakership appeared certain, and that office, he once declared, had but one superior and no peer. His mind had been never so ripe. But he was heartsore at the prospect of following the new and opposite line, and he determined to retire to private life. To his near friend, Asher Hinds, he said: "I have tried, perhaps, not always successfully, to make the acts of my public life accord with my conscience, and I can not now do this thing."

And so he wrote his touching farewell letter to his constituents and withdrew from the public service.

One would fail to do justice to Reed if he did not speak of his brilliancy and charm in conversation. His wise, bantering, and witty talk was the life of any social group in which he happened to be placed. There was no arrogance in his manner, he never took possession of any company, as social autocrats are apt to do, but none the less he was by common consent sure to take the lead. His sententious witticisms became the talk of the town and were repeated from mouth to mouth. It is unfortunate that there was not some Boswell to take down his conversation and that so many of his brilliant sayings have perished. His wit was ingrained in the substance of his style and was shown alike in conversation and in offhand speaking. He often united with it a homely common-sense phi-

losophy strongly resembling that of Dr. Franklin and a way of putting it that reminds one of Sidney Smith. In attempting to quote from him, it is equally difficult to know where to begin and where to stop, and after one is done he feels sure there are better specimens left. But I will venture a few short examples which may show something of the touch of his wit and philosophy.

Bantering a House of the opposite party for doing nothing but talk, he said:

It presents the dead level of a Dutch landscape with all its windmills but without a trace of its beauty and fertility.

Of his own minority, he said:

They behaved with gentleness and modesty, partly because they were very good men and partly because there were very few of them.

And again of a Member who was a skillful lawyer, he said:

There is no man in five kingdoms abler to dig a pit for a witness and sweetly coax him into it.

Complimenting the honesty of an opponent to whom he was replying, he added:

Such is the direct nature of his mind that there is no man so capable of thoroughly exposing the weakness of a bad position that he happens to occupy.

This is his homely version of "omne ignotum pro magnifico," the principle in human nature which causes the gold-brick industry to flourish in politics and elsewhere:

Everything we do not know anything about always looks big. The human creature is imaginative. If he sees a tail disappearing over a fence, he images the whole beast and usually images the wrong beast. * * * Whenever we take a trip into the realms of fancy, we see a good many things that never were.

Speaking of a panic in Wall Street which squeezed the inflation out of values, he said:

Water flowed down both sides of the street.

Sometimes the world moves slowly.

It took 4,000 years of pagan and 15 centuries of Christian civilization to produce a two-pronged fork and another century to bring it into use.

We endure filth diseases thousands of years and call them visitations from God, and when some one proposes the remedy we listen in early ages with the horror suitable to greet a man who wishes to interfere with God's methods in the universe.

Never expect toleration from a crowd that has other views and has them vividly.

Wrong is never so weak as in its hour of triumph.

The alternation of good times and hard times antedates the pyramids.

If we ever learn to treat the living with the tenderness with which we instinctively treat the dead, we shall then have a civilization well worth distributing.

That is one of the laws of God working for his children, and, compared with one of your laws of Congress, it is as Leviathan to a clam.

The description of the view from Cushings Island across Portland Harbor, in which he takes you from the Portland of to-day to the Portland of the time of Cleve's landing, will serve as an example of a different vein, showing his accuracy as an observer and his skill as a painter of a scene.

The long slope of grassy verdure varied by the darker foliage of the trees spreads wide to the water's edge. Then begins the bright sparkle of the summer sea, that many-twinkling smile of ocean, that countless laughter of the waves which has lighted up the heart of man centuries since Eschylus died, and

centuries before he lived. Across the sunlit waters, dotted with the white sails or seamed with the bubbling foam of the steamers' track, past the wharves, bristling with masts and noisy with commerce, the gaze falls upon the houses sloping quickly upward in the center and becoming more and more embowered in trees as they climb the hills at either end. Following the tall spires the eye loses itself in the bright blue sky beyond. * * * If you shut your eyes and let the lofty spires disappear, the happy homes glisten out of sight, and the wharves give place to a curving line of shelving, pebbly beach; if you imagine the bright water unvexed by traffic, the tall peninsula covered with forests and bushy swamps, with the same varied expanse of island and of sea, and the whole scene undisturbed by any sound save the clanging cries of innumerable birds and waterfowl, you will be looking upon Machigonne as it appeared to George Cleve.

But beyond his brilliancy as a debater, his resplendent wit and his skill as a parliamentary leader, his title to remembrance rests upon his quality as a statesman. He had a great ambition, but it was not great enough to lead him to surrender any principle of government which he deemed vital. Like Webster, like Clay, and others of our most conspicuous statesmen, he was disappointed at not reaching the Presidency, but he could fitly aspire to the office, for he was of the fiber and nurture out of which great Presidents are made. He probably would not have been a continuously popular President, but our great Presidents never have been. He had that supreme quality which was seen in Washington breasting the popular anti-British feeling and asserting against France our diplomatic independence; in Lincoln bearing the burden of unsuccessful battles and holding back the sentiment for emancipation until the time was ripe for freedom; in Grant facing the popular clamor and vetoing inflation; and in Cleveland alienating his party while he persisted in as righteous and heroic a battle as was ever waged by a President.

A great nation can not make up its mind in a moment. What first appeals to its fancy is not likely to appeal to its final judgment, and the severest test of the disinterestedness of the statesman under our system is his readiness to risk unpopularity and defeat in order to protect the people from their first impulse and give them an opportunity to form a real opinion. Reed's faith was in what he called "the deliberate judgment of the people," but he declared that "the sudden and unreflecting judgment of the noisy who are first heard is quite as often a voice from the underworld." This distinction is vital, since the cause of democracy has nothing to hope from the statesman who weakly yields to the temptation always to be popular and who panders to the noisy passions of the moment rather than consults the real interests of the people. Reed recognized no divinity in an unthinking clamor, whether raised by one man or a great mass of men. The people could no more depend on inspiration to guide them in performing their public duties than in their private affairs. In each case reflection and work were equally necessary. He showed his reverence for representative government by the calm dignity with which he bore himself during more than two decades of service. He was sometimes compelled to struggle to maintain himself, but he scorned to make the struggle upon demagogue lines, or to swerve from the straight path upon which he moved with so much majesty. He was not prigged up with the commonplace sort of greatness, with a padded and theatric make-up staged to strike the imaginations of little men or to set wagging the puffing pens of little writers. He

was no self-advertiser and ran no press bureaus to trumpet his real or imaginary virtues. He sought no mere noisy and ephemeral fame, but he lived upon a plane visible at history's perspective, and he grandly wove his life into the texture of his time.

And so you rear this statue. And you do well to rear it, for, although his memory is one of the treasures of the whole country, it was you who gave him to the Nation. He was the product of the sky and soil of Maine, lightened by her sunshine and hardened by her storms. As a representative acts well or ill he reflects credit or discredit upon those who have chosen him. By this test how signally he honored you. But you equally honored yourselves when, amid all the shifting popular vagaries and the following of false gods, you permitted yourselves to be guided by the better genius of popular government and kept this heroic figure for so long a time in the service of his country. And when he returned his commission to you he could truthfully say, as he proudly said, "No sail has been trimmed for any breeze or any doubtful flag ever flown." That noble phrase gives the keynote to his character as a statesman. The only colors he was willing to fight under were those that represented his own principles. He never sailed just for the sake of sailing, but to make progress upon a straight course. He did not take his inspiration and direction from the winds, but from the stars.

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